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624 in the Lio mountain kampongs is called the wiwiria lama lewa, or, as van Suchtelen[1] says, "big mouth long tongue". He is like a talking chief.

632 622 624 614 The kapitan and the kepala kampong (as well as the mandur of the kapitan, who on second thought may prove to be a kind of assistant kapitan; and the oro kuni) are clearly administrative officers, and are not "adat chiefs." The true adat chief is the mosa laki mere (as well as the other three mosa laki). This indicates that the kapitan and the kepala kampong, territorial chiefs, are of a later date, and the old chief was the tuan tanah or mosa laki mere. Since the latter is also called laki pu'u, and pu'u means suku, it looks as though before the territorial organization, they had only localized clans. Thus they have the dual division of chiefs into the administration--territory and into the adat--genealogical. Going on, I found

693 632 624 614 622 excellent substantiation of this in that a big case, involving murder or big theft, etc., for example the case in which the Dutch government was interested (a law case, as it were) is judged by the kapitan with the assistance of the four kepala kampong chosen for him for that case. In a small case, however, involving adat, judgment is made only within the kampong (thus adat cases involve the kampong, which comes before the clan, I think). And the judges are the mosa laki mere, acting as chairman, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the sike sani. It looks as though the old localized clans were ruled by this quadrivirate. And, these four are completely hereditary. Thus even in succession they have the genealogical principle. It comes out clearly in these four adat chiefs. I must find out from which suku these officers come.

614 I asked about the present localization of the suku, and they seemed to agree that the suku are still largely settled in certain clusters. They

[1] [See p.90 of van Suchtelen as cited in bibliography, cat. 13--Analyst]

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764 565 burial as unhygienic. The commoners always buried their dead simply. Funeral feast costs often bankrupted the relatives of the radja. I must find out how the funerals are run now. Perhaps they merely bury the dead. I remember that I heard one fellow call the tombs in the plaza "old" ones.

776 They knew about nitu and dewa and moyang, and there must be plenty of pagan beliefs here, even among the Catholics.

872 [197] There is a mission school here in the kampong. The assistant has finished five grades of schooling in Ndona.

291 178 The clothes here consist of a sarong for the men (old style) although this is changing fast, a sloppy sarong worn even up to the shoulders for women, and a closed, v-neck blouse, also [302] worn by the women. The latter have a peculiar topknot coiffure. The sarongs are made by women, 286 531 and many people are presently weaving on back bar looms. The colors are mainly bluish and the designs are mostly small.

527 124 Tomorrow is the Flag Day of the Republic, and I will instruct the assistant in the pasanggrahan. Sunday I will explore the kampong. As usual, they have a holiday whenever there is the slightest excuse for one.

622 One thing I did not ask about, but which I must find out about later, is how the kepala kampong is elected or chosen.

693 624 622 565 Also I forgot to say that there were some remarks about how, in an adat case, where the four mosa laki are judges, the kepala kampong may "mix in" but may not judge. Also, he may mix in only if he is of the bangsawan. This evidently means that some kepala kampongs are bangsawan and others are not. I must get this kepala kampong picture straight.

614 The main suku in Watu Roga is Wanda, and the main one in Roworeke is Odja. Aside from the

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614 which is the main one and the largest. In most cases this may also be the oldest one. This does not hold for Roworeke, where the main one is Odja, but the original one was the now nearly extinct Rewarangga. Anyway, they knew that Odja was the main one in Roworeke, Reandona the main one in Manunggo'o, and beyond this they did not know the situation in other kampongs. They said [829] that they would have to ask each kepala kampong. This shows how little they know about anything beyond their own village. Even the kapitan, who is head of the whole eighteen kampongs, did not know this.

624 The giri tumba of Rewarangga, who is head giri tumba of all the others, didn't even know the personal names of the other sixteen giri tumba.

693 If there is a small adat case, the Little Four sit for the judgment, but they tell the Big Four of the local kampong of the decision. Thus they have a kampong court for little cases and a gemeente council of the Big Four for bigger ones.

632 624 We got into a terrific muddle about how a new kapitan is chosen. When an old one dies, all eighteen kepala kampong come together and also the Big Four and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs. The giri tumba, ndeto au, and sike sani of the other sixteen kampongs may come, but evidently they have no voice in the matter. Thus the electoral college includes eighteen kepala kampongs, mosa laki mere Rewarangga, giri tumba Rewarangga (Odja), ndeto au Rewarangga, sike sani Rewarangga, and the mosa laki mere of the other sixteen kampongs (excepting Roworeke and Worowai, whose Little Four are also the Big Four). Thus in all there are thirty-eight members of the electoral college. The manager of the convention is the giri tumba Rewarangga, who was sitting there. His other title (wiwiria, etc.) means "big mouth long tongue." He goes around and sounds out the opinion of all the others and

000 trols this atomism.

124 212 115 The next day we went to the kampong, stopping at Mudakaputu, and Watuwiti, and other places on the way. These all seemed less good than Wailolong. For example, Riangkamië had only two suku; others had none or only one korke, etc. At Leloba, the guru had another guru with him, and said that we must use him as he was not so good at writing. Then I asked about whether or not it might not be a good idea to use an assistant who lives in Wailolong, but they said nobody there can write well because most of them have attended only three grades of schooling. Then we went to the district chief, the kakang, who was formerly in Boschwesen, and who is a man with good authority. He said he would order the Wailolong folk to help and would put at my disposal a lad from Wailolong. Also, he said he would order them to let us use one of the rumah pemuda, or boys' houses, in Wailolong. We talked at length about the situation and it seems that there are really no people in Wailolong who are able to write well.

773 178 872 We talked about the way the old stories are dying out and the young people won't listen any more. The guru Roy and a few old men only are the ones who know very much. The guru is the best, and he knows all of the ancestors back for nineteen generations. He also complained about how the schools do not have books about Indonesia and the local affairs, but rather about Europe, which the children cannot understand.

632 622 693 614 We had taken in the jeep a lot of kepala suku and kepala kampong of Wailolong to the kakang where they were to have a case hearing. It is evidently a case concerned with marriage. The kepala suku are clearly old style fellows. Several [30] of the old men had long hair and necklaces and one had a tattoo on his chest. The kakang gave a 614 speech ordering them to help us. Then we went to

622 kelake. Evidently the kepala kampong have been
624 superimposed on the other system.
614 The purely administrative chiefs are:

Kepala Kampong Kottang (he is the kepala kampong)
Kepala Kampong Kelen (IIb)
Kepala Kampong Hurint (IIIc)

The latter two have this as their only titled rank. If I am right that the kepala kampong is also the kepala kampong Kottang, then there are really sixteen officers, i.e., actual men in office, but the total number of offices is twenty-three. Some men have more than one office. When
[788] there are ceremonies, the praying (marang) is
[887] done, not by the man from suku Marang, but by the oldest man who is clever. Here it is a man
[756] named Bugis, from IIa. He is also the molang, or medicine man. Can it be that often the two go together? The guru, as noted above, says that even in Leloba, where they have a suku named Marang, this is not the praying suku at the rites. The chief of the Marang suku is merely a hander around of betel. In Vatter's time in Leloba the one who prayed was Laba, says the guru.

614 Note that an alternative term for Ama is Mela. Thus one can say, for example, either Ama Hurint or Mela Hurint.

693 Yesterday we met the chiefs of Wailolong.
624 They were at the kakang's office for a marriage
302 case. They were partly made up of short-haired Christians, but there were also pagan longhairs. I must get a photograph of all of them together with the information on who they are. Probably the administrative ones are the modern and the adat ones are the old pagans.

614 For the kepala suku they always have an old
887 man if possible. If no old man is available, however, they may have to take a younger one.

614 I must get on to the method of choosing the
622 & [See bibliography, cat.113 --Analyst]

621 R 11. Ae Mura (kilometer 8)
361 12. Paudari (inside from Nuamere too)

237 There are no more tusks in Roworeke. All
727 of them were sold or taken during the Japanese
436 time. The old wea were sold in the Japanese
563 time too, but new ones are being made by
326 traveling goldsmiths from Savu and Roti, from metal supplied by the kampong folk. We picked up two Roti goldsmiths with their tools and families. They had been in the mountains making wea and ornaments for the Lio folk. They use the natives' gold. Much silver is now mixed in with the gold. They both had complete
[142] sets of gold teeth. They were handsome, large, and light.

583 Today, if there are no tusks or wea, they
611 use money and animals for the bride price, but
591 they may also work it off, although it is not
237 really a case of ambil anak because the children follow the father's suku anyway. The girl must stay with the parents until the bride price is paid. Also, residence remains matrilocal until the bride price is paid. Thus we have an illustration of this in the case of a Lio man now living in Roworeke, with several children, because the bride price has not yet been paid. The children belong to his suku, however. Thus there is bride service, matrilocal residence, but the descent remains patrilineal. The guru, who is living matrilocally, has not yet paid his bride price. He tried to get the assistant to say that they still had tusks, but the kepala kampong told the truth.

693 Nearly all adat cases are handled by the
624 kampong Little Fours, but big cases come before
632 the Big Four. The latter type cases are evidently rare. Minor ones may be handled by the local giri tumba, acting alone. The adat cases
[691] are concerned only with land and marriage questions.

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693 632 624 [622] tions. Murder, theft, etc., come to the kepala kampong or kapitan. Such cases are not within the adat sphere. These officials do not interfere with each other's spheres.

632 624 622 The situation in regard to the offices is as follows: The Big Four of the gemeente who are also the Little Four of Roworeke (combined with Worowai) are respectively from Rewarangga, Odja, Rewarangga, and Rewarangga. All except the giri tumba are from Worowai, and here there is a rumah berhala. Only an Odja or a Rewarangga man (and he must be a resident of Roworeke) may be elected kapitan or kepala kampong of Roworeke. In each of the other kampongs there are families in which the Little Fours are hereditary posts. This position is inherited from father to eldest son.

[796] There are no set ritual functions associated with these offices, but the mosa laki mere of the Big Four (I think) must always be there for a big ceremony, and he must receive the lower jaws of the animals slaughtered. I note that an alternative term for the four mosa laki is tuan tanah.

771 796 Some of the people here are Catholics, and I asked if they still did the ritual and prayed when they held a big ceremony. He say yes, and that Catholicism makes no difference in this matter. He was firm in stating that there are Catholic things and adat things. They are

796 241 574 527 separate. The two main feasts of the year are those held at planting and at harvest time, when the crops are brought in ritually to the kampong. At these feasts the mosa are the leaders and the big leader is the local mosa laki mere. There is animal slaughter, dancing, singing, and praying. They wear festive clothes.

[614] [341] 000 And there is also a big suku feast when the bone house of a suku is rebuilt. Thousands attend. Smaller private rites are held for such

565 632 624 622 of Meler, the main kepala kampong of the Ndung complex, lives in Meler. The dalu came in about 1870. They were put in by Bima, and the tuan tanah said that they were of Bima origin. (Does this mean that no native chiefs were made dalu? Evidently.)

622 624 592 There is no native term for the kepala kampong. The tuan tanah is the tu'a tenu. In each house there is a house chief, the tu'a mbaru. The latter word means house. He is chosen by the men of the house.

623 592 693 The kampong council, which must be called together for each case, includes the tuan tanah, the kepala kampong, and the tu'a mbaru of their own houses. If the case involves adat, the tuan tanah is the chairman. An example of this would be a case concerned with land. If the case is concerned with administration, for example, with theft, the kepala kampong acts as chairman. In all cases, however, all of the members of the council are present.

614 624 The clans are divided into subclans called panga. Each of these has a chief, the tu'a panga. In Weol there are three panga and three tu'a panga. Two of these are also the tuan tanah and the kepala kampong. There are two panga and two tu'a panga in Ndung. The tuan tanah there is also tu'a panga of his panga and tu'a mbaru of his house.

614 173 I asked about the origin of the panga. The original ancestors, Vako Dangka and Ine Karas, had two sons: Lando Kakor and Naloholles. They married wives of another va'u and between them had seven sons (their daughters were forgotten, a reversal of the Ngada story, where the daughters of Djawa are remembered and the sons forgotten). Each of these became an ancestor of a panga, and in the course of time their descendants split into many more panga. New panga may be formed at any time, even now, as the old ones

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621 some of the mountain kampongs in Rewarangga
361 are probably older than Worowai. Each kampong,
632 however, has a negri lama, and from there the
[614] people descended. Nevertheless, kampongs are still formed partly of suku or suku sections coming in and joining the old settlers from the negri lama.

443 The market "wheels" follow a daily series as in Celebes. These wheels run in different directions. Thus one runs out to Wolowaru, and another runs out on the Badjawa road. The traders follow the pasar week from market to market.

431 There is no exchange of gifts between kam-
583 pongs, although there is gift exchange in
562 marriage, and this is set. A man gives "male" things (animals, gold, money, tusks) and a woman gives in return "female" things (cloth, mats, rice, etc.).

776 As I drove back to Ende with the guru, he
784 pointed to a place on the river near Wolomere, and said that many had drowned there recently. The water is deep, he said, and there lives a "head" of a human being. It is still living and people have seen it. The Bapa ketjil has seen it several times, in daylight. It moves around as though on short legs. It is just a human head, with hair. They don't know what it is or where it came from. However, the people are now scared to bathe here. The victims have been sucked under. He asked me my opinion. I wonder if he, a zealous Christian
[123] and perhaps a mission spy, is testing my faith, because he asked me when we were on Kilimutu if I could see spirits. But it may be sincere. They call this living head the Kolo mesa ("Head alone").

622 Error: There is an adat kepala kampong as
● 693 well as an administrative kepala kampong. The
624 adat one is the ata nggaëh nua, and he is locally

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622 the Bapa ketjil. I might never have found this
●693 out if I hadn't seen him dressed in adat cos-
624 tume coming into an adat meeting for a case hearing. His younger brother is the administrative kepala kampong. (The kapitan says
[565] that if the kepala kampong did not come from
[212] nobility the people would not follow him, and so I can see that they choose a man of the adat kepala kampong or ata nggaëh nua family for the administrative kepala kampong and in addition one who can read and write. Then they can keep the old man in the adat post.) Maybe there are cases of one man being both.
624 Thus in the kampong there are really five adat
622 officers: the ata nggaëh nua, the mosa laki
632 mere, the giri tumba, the ndeto au, and the
693 sikesani. The administrative ones are the kepala kampong and the oro kuni. The same pattern holds for the district. The kapitan is the administrative man, and then the mosa laki mere besar acts as adat chief. This might be the same man, I suppose. Then they have the other big mosa laki.

The adat case came up at noon, and coming to it were the Big Four (here the Kampong Four too), the kepala kampong, the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan. The chairman and judge, the mosa laki mere, as well as others (e.g., the kapitan), could ask questions and keep things in line. The kepala kampong must be present too (evidently both kinds of kepala kampong). This case was one concerned with marriage. I must ask later what it was.

Kattenburg got some material on administration. Theoretically, the adat chiefs are supposed to be used for administrative posts by the government. But they are rarely so used evidently, and this causes the dual system: adat and administration. They may coincide at any point. Generally, I think that

R Generally, I think that
632 the government has not put adat chiefs (for
627 example, ata nggaëh nua) into administrative
624 posts. This also holds for the mosa laki. I
●693 can think of the following possible reasons:
631 (1) adat chiefs are largely illiterate and cannot do administrative work therefore; (2) adat chiefs are largely pagan, and the mission, therefore, probably does not like them (indeed, one of the main ends of the mission is to do away with that devil, the tuan tanah; they usually say they want to do this because he stands in the way of progress and land reform, but this is a rationalization; it is like killing the Toradja death feasts because of immorality, when the real reason is that they constitute the main bulwark of pagan survival); (3) adat chiefs formerly and potentially even today are probably the centers of possible revolt against alien laws and government, and thus it is better not to let them have too much power. So they let them handle harmless adat cases. This is indirect rule on the adat level, taking all important functions away from them. Nevertheless, I note that the ad-
[565] ministrative appointees (who may be "elected" in a way) are always or nearly always of the adat chiefly families. Thus, here the kepala kampong is the younger brother of the ata nggaëh nua, and the kapitan is a noble of the adat lineage. They are literate and Christian (or Mohammedan) nobles of the old adat nobility.

Ngada and Nageh: The Ngada Y- or rather
231 U-topped upright, is used to run a buffalo rope
417 through. One end of the rope is attached to the neck of the buffalo and then passed through the U, and the other end is fastened to the stone post. Thus it is held taut when the buffalo is killed.

764 Ngada "resting places" along the road are
211 rectangular stone heap mounds, flat on top,

000 Radja's kampong.

721 There used to be much warfare with the Mohammedan coastal folk too. And war was waged with other districts and tribes, but this was rare, and was largely tied up with the higher politics of the radja. A pure border war, however, was one carried on with the district Lewotala.

186 621 484 Only a very few people locally have been in other places enough to have inferiority feelings about their own village. They have all seen the town of Larantuka, but this is not much and they get tired of it after a little while. Those who have, for example, seen Makassae, of whom there are very few, are less happy when they come back. This is a real difference. They tell a lot about the big town. Thus, the truth is that in all Flores the towns are so little and are so much like the kampongs (i.e. dull), that there is little contrast. Therefore, they see no advantage locally as over against the kampongs. Of the kampongs here all are about the same in wealth and land holdings. Lewohala and Watuwiti have a bit better land and perhaps more of it; thus, in general, one place is about as good as another.

721 178 578 691 693 Wars were waged over borders, women, and molesting children. Now warfare is outlawed, although they still carry it on in a modified way. For example, there is a dispute of this kind going on now between Leloba and Waibalun, although the chief says that they must not carry on a war. There have been repeated grievances; their patience is gone. A band goes out hot for revenge and although the chiefs in general try to keep the people from war they are unsuccessful. Most disputes are settled by legal procedures, with the kakang as the main judge and the kepala kampong, radja tuan, and kelake of the kampongs concerned making up the court.

693 614 For inter-suku cases, the court is made up

War

693 of the three kepala kampongs, the kepala suku,
614 and the kelake. For intra-suku cases, the court consists of the kepala suku and the kelake.

608 They have blood brotherhood bonds between
721 kampongs like the pela darah of Ambon. They call this umbadja or bela badja. Badja means pledged. The bond is formed by the chiefs of the kampongs cutting their fingers and drinking each other's blood mixed in a drink. They take only a little blood. This means that the two kampongs will not wage war against each other and that there will be no infringement of recognized boundaries. It means perhaps that they will help each other in war, but this is not necessary. It is a peace bond rather than a war alliance.

About every year the umbadja kampongs (there are none here as they are brothers anyway) have a get-together like the "bikin panas pela" in Ambon. The one kampong here which they know has a bela badja is Watuwiti, which has one with the district Lewotala.

773 The whole organization and everything else
796 here has a story about it, and these stories are endless. One could fill many books with the underlying legends about one kampong here. Every single rule, relationship, rank, etc., has its legendary rationalization. And ritual keeps the belief alive. Ritual is the acting out of past events which explains and justifies the present order. The ancestors are called upon to attend these rituals.

609 To be foreign in the local sense is a matter of great concern. Anyone they do not know is treated as a foreigner. This includes anyone from another kampong, and even though they may know another kampong person, if he enters they all ask him what he is after. The communities are really closed. Persons of another district are really alien. The word for stranger is